employment service review

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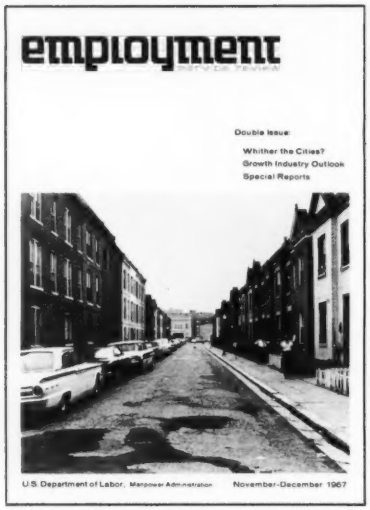
Double Issue:

Whither the Cities?
Growth Industry Outlook
Special Reports

U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration

November-December 1967



THE COVER: "TIRED STREET"

Dr. Herbert E. Striner, Director of Program Development, The Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, captures the mood of a typical inner city street: Tired, lined with shiny new cars of commuters from the suburbs, and inhabited by people who claim only a marginal share of the Nation's wealth.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Manpower Administration
Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Administrator

Bureau of Employment Security
Robert C. Goodwin, Administrator

U.S. Employment Service
Charles E. Odell, Director

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Ronald Van Doren, Editor

employment service review

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ARTICLES

USES AND THE CITIES, CHARLES E. ODELL 2
USES Director sums up questions and answers raised at Cleveland Major Metropolitan Area Conference aimed at solving big city hard-core unemployment.

PLASTICS, GROWTH INDUSTRIES—I, RALPH L. HARDING, JR., THE SOCIETY OF THE PLASTICS INDUSTRY, INC. 8
A rundown on the plastics industry—the first of a series of articles about major growth industries and their impact on the employment future.

THE BOTTOM OF HOUSTON, LOUIE WELCH, MAYOR OF HOUSTON 12
". . . self help and working together *can* overcome years of indifference, indifference on the part of the city and of the residents themselves."

JOBS FOR NEW YORK CITY'S POOR, OSCAR A. ORNATI, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY 14
The many strands of analysis and action involved in Project Labor Market, a city-financed program to improve job market for the poor.

PERSONNEL TESTS AND THE OLDER WORKER, CLIFFORD E. JURGENSEN, MINNESOTA GAS COMPANY 18
Industrial test findings on whether test scores decrease with age and if older workers' test scores are reflected in job performance.

THE OLDER WORKER, AN OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT, ROBERT S. WALDROP, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND 20
An exploration of the problems of objectively assessing the potential of the older worker and discussion of specifics involved.

OECD AND THE OLDER WORKER, SOLOMON BARKIN, ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT 24
OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Committee studies problems of older workers and suggests programs aimed at their solution.

ON CHOCTAW RIDGE, SARAH SAWYER 26
An industry establishes and operates a unique family training program to prepare entire Indian families for transition to urban life.

HIGH INTENSITY TRAINING, SAMUEL B. MARKS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, AND LESLIE KANUK, CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK 32
How a new training concept enables employers to upgrade low-skilled workers to shortage category skills in a matter of hours.

INDUSTRY ADVISORY COMMITTEES, SAMUEL M. BURT 35
The role of local industry advisory committees in developing jobs for the hard-core unemployed and aiding in the war on poverty.

USES

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CHARLES E. ODELL
DIRECTOR
U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

CHARLES E. ODELL
DIRECTOR, U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
CLEVELAND SHERATON HOTEL
CLEVELAND, OHIO

IT IS WITH HIGH HOPES AND HIGHER EXPECTATIONS THAT I EXTEND MY BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS TO YOU AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE 13 MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS IN YOUR TEAMWORK TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT IN OUR LARGER CITIES. WHILE MY OFFICIAL COMMITMENT IN SOUTH ASIA PREVENTS MY BEING WITH YOU, I WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW SIGNIFICANTLY I REGARD YOUR SESSIONS.

THIS IS NOT JUST ANOTHER CONFERENCE OR WORKSHOP BUT IS, I UNDERSTAND, THE BEGINNING OF A NEW EFFORT TO DEVELOP TO THE FULLEST THE HUMAN RESOURCES OF OUR NATION. THE AREAS YOU REPRESENT CONTAIN OVER 80 PERCENT OF THE NATION'S HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED. IN YOUR REGIONS, BUSINESS

The Director summarizes the questions—and provides some of the answers—raised during the recent meeting of Employment Service and related agency representatives who are most concerned with solving the problem of "human unemployment" in the Nation's metropolitan areas.

d the CITIES

AND INDUSTRIES HAVE THE BULK OF THE NATION'S JOB OPENINGS. TO BRING THE TWO TOGETHER, AND TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS IN BETWEEN, CAN CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE GREAT DOMESTIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS DECADE, AN ACHIEVEMENT THAT IS WITHIN OUR REACH AND SOON. I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES

The conference started on October 30 and ended November 2.

It was called at the urgent request of the State and local officers of 13 major metropolitan areas, and was devoted exclusively to give and take on how best to serve the hard-core unemployed and underemployed.

That the conference happened in the first place was in itself significant. It showed the concern (and sometimes the frustration) of dealing with the problems. If there were still any doubts about the determination of the Federal-State Employment Service system to become relevant and effective, these should have been dispelled for a long time to come. With the full range of divergent operating philosophies present at the meeting, it was never a question of "should we do something" but of "what do we do" and "how do we do it."

Instead of repeating questions and providing answers, making points and counterpoints, I will try to summarize what happened in Cleveland by putting the story that unfolded there in a historical perspective, adding some interpretations where they are appropriate. The criticisms are not necessarily always those of the conference participants, and the rationalizations or excuses are not always mine.

The Setting

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz set the tone of the conference on opening day when he told participants that the Federal-State Employment Service system should devote more effort to the problems of human unemployment rather than statistical unemployment. He suggested that the major effort of the State and local Employment Service offices was still committed to the unemployment problems of another time, an-

other generation—unemployment created by economic conditions rather than the human and social conditions of today.

"It is to me a fairly startling thing that some 50,000 to 55,000 of those 70,000 are doing almost exactly in terms of central responsibility what was being done by their counterparts in the thirties," the Secretary said.

"Today we are in the seventh year of an uninterrupted economic expansion, with every reason to believe that we have learned our lesson. And the national economists and we have learned now how to keep an economy on the upgrade. We are in a situation in which the remaining unemployment is, I believe, almost totally different from the unemployment which gave rise to the depth of those policies 30 years ago. And yet we are geared up to about the same basis that we were then. You wonder what would happen if you started from scratch today and tried to figure out how much of the labor program of the country and the States; how much of the manpower program of the country and the States; how much of the employment program of the country and the States ought to be in that old pattern."

Manpower Administrator Stanley Ruttenberg followed through in a joint session that evening, by outlining the Labor Department's unwaivering commitment to the solution of hard-core unemployment having top priority. He described the administrative and budgetary steps that were being taken by his administration to assure that the policy would be implemented. He emphasized that the Nation's commitment to making employable, and providing employment for, the hard-core unemployed would be served. Other major speakers from the Department who expanded on the two policy statements were: Philip Arnow, Director, Office of Policy Planning and Research; Jack Howard, Deputy Administrator, Manpower Administration; and Robert C. Goodwin, Administrator, Bureau of Employment Security.

When I appeared before his commission on civil disorders, Governor Kerner of Illinois said: "Mr. Odell, we welcome you, but we're up to here with assessments and evaluations. Please tell us, if you can, something specific and tangible and meaningful that we can do about the problems of our cities." This is really where we are, too. We're groping for solutions. We're making false starts. We're establishing priorities and directions, and launching crash programs, many of which are partially planned, most of which really have not been fully developed. And yet we behave as though the fact that we are trying suggests that we cannot make mistakes, that we do not need to look in some depth at what we're doing and try to learn from our mistakes to do better in the future.

When we are told that the Concentrated Employment Programs constitute a new delivery system for services and a new administrative device for the coordination of services and funding in the manpower field, it is forgotten that the Human Resources Development Program was conceived of and developed as a delivery system to do precisely that—and that we spent almost a year in five large cities in five States in finding out what it took to do that job and how to do it before we attempted to put out a program design and a delivery system. When CEP was born, it was really an attempt to adopt and adapt the concept of HRD into a broader concept which related itself to bringing to bear in the total program sources of funds other than the relatively puny resources that we could put into HRD.

But our experience in the five cities told us that without results in terms of funded training opportunities, work training programs, and meaningful jobs, there were severe limitations on how far we could go without skyrocketing what Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz called the "rising expectations and aspirations of the ghettos to a point of no return." And therefore, it was something of a disappointment to us when we saw CEP really being superimposed on HRD, not as a complimentary system but as perhaps a competitive thrust in the direction of doing the same thing under other mechanisms for the same people. It was at that point that Frank Cassell and I said, in effect, "If you mean for us to be centrally involved in human resources development, you cannot move into the same areas with a competing manpower system. We must be permitted to implement the concept that the ES shall be the provider of a wider range of manpower services within the CEP program."

That principle was accepted. The trouble was that the people who were out in the field trying to formulate CEP programs were never told about it until they began to submit already structured designs for programs in which there was very little evidence that the ES had been considered a sponsor or as a source of manpower services in the system. Then we proceeded to try to undo that by saying that the ES must be involved and that it must not only be asked to contribute resources to the fulfillment of the manpower service system but must also be helped with additional funds.

That was done with varying degrees of success and with a great deal of anguish and frustration in the form of contractual proposals between about April 1 and June 30. And what we see now, what has been fed back to us in this conference is the very wide range of involvement and participation ranging from minimal participation in some places to rather maximum participation in others. In terms of spending, we have made an assessment, which indicates that in the 22 CEP programs that are now in operation, the ES contributed approximately 500 Human Resources Development and Title III positions to those programs and received in CEP funding in one form or another approximately 900 positions. We don't know whether that's a good batting average or not. But it does suggest that things aren't as bad as some have suggested.

Personally, I think we can do better. And I think there is every reason to believe that if we follow through on present commitments we will have learned much about how to incorporate and structure involvement in the total program.

Many are critical of the fact that CEP involves total coordination of spending at the national level under the Manpower Administration, but the presumptive sponsor of the program and the prime contractor at the local level is still the local Community Action Agency. I could have wished that at least there would have been greater flexibility in that presumptive sponsor concept, and actually it started out to be that way. For example, we had an understanding with the Office of Economic Opportunity which said that if there was not a viable local Community Action Agency which had heavy private sector involvement—which could guarantee the delivery of jobs at the end of the programs to those who go through it—that such involvement would have to be established. And we had two or three instances across the country in which the ES might have become, if not the presumptive sponsor and prime contractor, at least one of several organizations functioning in that role on a nonprofit corporate board. However, as we go down the road, there is plenty of room for looking in the direction of a more significant role for the ES as a sponsor, as perhaps the prime contractor in several of these programs, as a working model. If we do a good job, we will at least see how that works in comparison with other designs.

Another aspect on which there is consternation and confusion has to do with the role of Model Cities in this context. The concept of building CEP as a model for the delivery of manpower services into the Model

Cities program was initiated by the Department of Labor and has been accepted by Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Therefore, we now have an opportunity to implement this concept in 50 to 60 additional major metropolitan areas and medium sized communities.

We have also defined what we mean—in writing—to be the role of ES as the presumptive sponsor of manpower services. We ought to be aware of the possibility of moving in that direction, where we have the capacity and the will to take major responsibility at the local level.

Now, for some of the specifics that came out of our discussions in relation to functions and programs which are relatively new or which are relatively different in their application to human resources development.

Some of us maintain that we do not know too much about outreach and maybe we shouldn't be doing it at all; and we don't know too much about job development for the disadvantaged, so maybe we shouldn't be doing it at all; and we don't know too much about how to clear orders and distribute information about job opportunities, and maybe we shouldn't be doing it at all. I suggested that, whether we like it or not,

we're already involved in these activities—we are expected to fulfill responsibilities in these fields—we do have an accumulation of competence, expertise, and knowledge in these fields. We may have to adapt our thinking to new situations and new kinds of working relationships, but, by and large, if we claim to be the most extensive and significant manpower agency in the country, then it seems we have to take leadership and adapt our system to the problems and the needs of the times.

In outreach, we could really exercise this kind of leadership if we would emulate the model that we're using in a 16-city demonstration program with the Urban League in which we say we really don't care whether the ES does all the outreach—our only concern is that it is done and done well. If we have any knowledge and competence in the field of job development, we might as well be doing the same thing in that field. Oakland, for example, has already initiated this kind of a model calling all the job developers in and saying, "Look, let's figure out how we do this job, how we can avoid duplication, competition, and harrassment of employers, and set up a system which makes it possible for us to work together to share our best knowledge and information; to do a better job on behalf of the people who really need our help; to encourage employer support and cooperation instead of pushing the employer into the position of saying, 'If one more of you guys shows up to talk to me about the same problem, I'm never going to look at another disadvantaged person or let another job developer in the door.' "

When we talk about whether we should have our people outstationed or working from a central point, we're really saying (and this is another part of the same problem) that we don't want to be involved in this enterprise. I can conceive of a manpower system, and I think it's the manpower system of the future, in which we outstation as many as 50 or 60 percent of our total personnel. We do that because, if we're going to have an effective preventive relationship to the problem of hard core unemployment, or unemployment in general, we ought to be working in the places where the problem begins: In the innercity neighborhoods and schools, where the disadvantaged kids are pushed or shoved out, where too little is done to expose them to the opportunity for personal and human development of their own talents and potentials, and where nobody in the community is really providing the expertise that we can provide to make those people more employable by "preventive" human resources development—before they leave the school system.

It is important that we see in this process an emerging role for community organization and planning in the manpower field. While I don't think that Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) is the living end of what that system ought to be or how it should be structured, I would strongly urge that we lend full support to CAMPS—and that we continue to press for putting into it the necessary sanctions, implied or expressed, that will make it operative.

We've been criticized for not doing an effective job of community organization, of getting the private sector involved. There is something cynical about calling people together to consult and advise and work together if we don't really mean to take their advice. This has been a tendency in our use of advisory councils over the past 30 years. I think it's unfortunate. We demonstrated in wartime that we could get great use out of such mechanisms if we didn't make them too complicated, and I am hopeful that out of CAMPS and our local and State MDTA Advisory Committees we can develop a structure which establishes a basic mechanism through which we get both public and private sector involvement in manpower planning under employment service guidance and direction at both the community and the State level.

We've also been criticized for not doing a better job in the field of evaluation. We are working on an evaluation design which is directed specifically to building into our basic system a process which looks at what happens to people, and what the net gains to those people were as a result of their exposure to our services; which measures our effectiveness in cost benefit terms rather than in terms of time and cost, workload factors, and transactions data.

We've been criticized for not having really looked hard at our reporting systems. You are all familiar with the Auerbach contract which will hopefully automate all of our basic reporting and information systems. But we are also considering a proposal for an interim reporting system which would virtually eliminate all of our present basic and special transaction reporting programs and substitute for them a single, integrated reporting program that would give us more and better quality information at about one-third the present costs.

We've been criticized for a lack of cohesive national organization. I share that concern, and have started reorganization of the U.S. Employment Service in

(*Continued on page 40*)

Plastics

GROWTH INDUSTRIES—I

The first in a series of major growth industries and their impact on the employment future.

Ralph L. Harding, Jr.

Ask the average professional man to name the fastest growing industry in the United States today and you're liable to get anything for an answer. Yet if you were to ask the average housewife, she might give the right answer—plastics—more often than her husband, because she has had an opportunity to see and enjoy more of the personal benefits of an industry which has provided an evergrowing array of products for her comfort, pleasure, safety, health, and convenience.

Actually, plastics has done as much or more for the entire economy, especially in the many facets of professional pursuits. To women, though, the industry's accomplishments are much closer to home, more readily apparent in everyday life. On the other hand, they seem to share at least one belief: they generally regard plastics development as something in the nature of a modern-day marvel of scientific achievement.

Since it began a century ago next year, the plastics industry now:

—Provides steady employment for nearly 200,000 people, and creates nearly $1½ billion of purchasing power annually through industry payrolls.

—Has outpaced the growth rate of the gross national product as well as that of every single major U.S. industry during the past decade. The McGraw-Hill Department of Economics forecasts a plastics industry eight times its present size by 1980.

—Is credited with creating, or making major contributions to, every outstanding development in electronics, space, communications, safety, packaging, aviation, medicine, construction, agriculture, and recreation . . . to name a few.

—Contributes to the growth of many of the Nation's largest corporations, as well as many individually-owned concerns employing fewer than 50 people.

—Has developed plastics technology to the point where it is an integral part of almost every major U.S. industry and every American home.

And an ingenious young man named John Wesley Hyatt began it all in 1868.

As often happens, a relatively minor problem sparked a genius to produce something of far-reaching consequence—a shortage of ivory for making billiard balls.

Young Hyatt, a printer who had invented and patented a knife sharpener, decided to try out a mixture of pyroxylin, made from cotton and nitric acid, with solid camphor. The product, later named Celluloid, was a great success. Colored pink, dentists soon adopted it to replace the hard rubber in denture plates. Numerous other uses were found for manufacturing combs, shoe horns, children's toys, chessmen, wipe-clean collars, cuffs, and shirt fronts. Celluloid roll film made photography a fast-growing hobby. Many Americans still remember Celluloid as the window curtain material on early automobiles.

A plastics solution of cellulose nitrate was said to have been used by the Wright brothers on glider wings in experiments as far back as the 1880's, and on the wings of the plane in their historic flight of 1903.

The second great development in American commercial plastics technology came in 1909 when Dr. Leo Henrik Baekeland produced a controllable reaction between phenol and formaldehyde. His patents covered the production of a phenolic that could be cast (like marbleized clock bases), a compound that could be formed under heat and pressure (like an electric iron handle), and solutions that could be used in making laminates (like table tops).

Pacesetters for the Future

But what now is of more importance is the future, and predictions by the McGraw-Hill Department of Economics and other experts indicate we can expect continued growth and progress. In turn, progress will create new demands for manpower in an industry which already employs some 200,000 peo-

"Surlyn" A, five times tougher than polyethylene, has found use in many packaging applications.

Ralph L. Harding, Jr. is Executive Vice President, The Society of the Plastics Industry, Inc.

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ple, and open new opportunities for employment at every level of activity and skill. The manpower demands of the plastics industry, during the next 10 years will triple the rate for all manufacturing!

How to Find the Workers

Success of such high order, however, usually and necessarily creates problems. In the case of the plastics industry, a major problem lies in finding additional workers as fast as it increases facilities and output. As a matter of fact, the industry currently is facing a serious shortage in many of its top-skill categories, and to a considerable degree in the semiskilled classifications.

This has spurred plastics producers to redouble efforts to attract new employees. An industry-wide survey to develop information on types of training programs required to solve the manpower shortage is in progress. Questionnaires have been mailed to plastics processors by a special Education Task Force of The Society of the Plastics Industry, Inc., and The Society of Plastics Engineers.

Through this questionnaire, the plastics industry hopes to learn how it can recruit needed manpower to keep pace with the phenominal growth of the industry. Once we determine the primary manpower needs, training programs can be developed to meet such needs.

Other efforts are being directed toward increasing the number of plastics-oriented courses offered by schools and colleges, and part-time instruction under local programs of the various plastics industry professional societies throughout the country.

Dr. George L. Graf, economist-technologist in the plastics department of E. I. duPont deNemours & Co. described the situation this way in an address earlier this year:

"With unemployment at the lowest level in years . . . and all industry at high levels of production, manpower is hard to come by. Nevertheless, manpower must be attracted and trained to keep the whole complex healthy.

"Men will be needed in a number of areas, such as:

1. Resin research, production, and marketing.
2. Resin processing and product sales.
3. Equipment research, fabrication, and sales.
4. Tool building.
5. End product design and marketing.

Bottle molded from "Surlyn" A resin and filled with water exhibits excellent elastic recovery when dropped from 20 feet. Though impact causes high bounce, a high speed photograph shows that the bottle undergoes virtually no deformation.

This giant blender mixes plastic materials in 130,000-pound lots for giant-size plastic item orders.

A technician inserts a plastics mixture into one of 370,000 honeycomb cells covering the primary heat shield of the Apollo space craft. The plastic filled honeycomb disintegrates from temperatures as high as 20,000 degrees Fahrenheit and thus while reentering the earth's atmosphere protects the primary shield which can withstand temperatures of only 600 degrees Fahrenheit.

"For the increase in injection molding powders and machine sales in 1965 and 1966, our industry probably required 10,000 to 15,000 people. This represents a broad range of training from janitor to company president.

"Our institutions of higher learning are trying to bring to their students information about plastics. Over 100 colleges now offer elective courses in plastics. However, the student may not be aware of our industry at the time he must select his college courses."

Many Women Employed

Employment in the industry certainly is by no means limited just to men. Women now represent 39.1 percent of the labor force. And as of now, they are employed in 46 different job classifications, compared with 38 in 1966.

Another aspect of the employment situation in which the industry takes pride is that, while some 75 to 80 different unions represent various employee groups within the industry, labor-management relations on the whole have been excellent through the years.

Perhaps a reason for this is that wages in the plastics industry during the past 20 years have risen faster than the average for all manufacturing and are expected to continue that trend during the next decade.

"We estimate," said the McGraw-Hill writers, "that workers' pay will grow at an average annual rate of 3.1 percent for the next 10 years for plastics for both hourly and weekly wages (excluding fringe benefits) . . . .

"For the all-manufacturing sector, our forecasts indicate an average annual 3 percent growth for hourly wages and a 2.7 percent figure for weekly wages (not counting fringe benefits) in the next 10 years . . . ."

Career Opportunities in Plastics

Many kinds of excellent job and career opportunities are offered by the plastics industry aside from those that are standard to all manufacturing, such as clerks, secre-

(*Continued on page 23*)

THE BOTTOM OF HOUSTON

LOUIE WELCH, MAYOR OF HOUSTON

The people who live in the area call it "The Bottom." Some say that's because when you end up there, you've hit the bottom. Some say it's the very worst part of Houston, the closest thing we have to a ghetto where people live crowded too close together, in ramshackle houses with little or no paint on them, on unpaved streets, often not even the basic sanitary facilities that most would consider absolute necessities of life.

The city of Houston does not consider that this area is really the worst section of town, nor that it is really "the bottom." For this area has a nucleus of people with pride and spirit, people interested in helping themselves and bettering their status through good, hard work.

This was the primary reason that the city, in December of 1966, chose "The Bottom" as the area for what we called "Project Partner." With the cooperation of interested citizens in the area, including an active neighborhood organization called the People's Civic Club, we embarked on a pilot program to see just what could be done to pull this area up from the bottom.

It was no easy assignment, no easy task that the city and the people had taken upon themselves. The area lies within census tract 18, where the median income in 1960 was $2,799, the lowest of any census tract in Houston. The area is also cut off from the rest of the city by an abandoned dump and a freeway.

No new city funds were to be allocated for this project, with the single exception of the salary of one man to be named as coordinator of "Project Partner." With the excellent cooperation of the Texas Employment Commission's minority representative Richard Carr, the mayor's office hired Ernest H. Carswell to act as a personal representative of the mayor in overseeing the project at a salary of $459 per month. Other than this expenditure, the entire project was dependent upon the cooperation of all city departments, civic clubs, landlords, school authorities, and churches in the area.

This cooperation, from the very first, exceeded our greatest hopes.

For our part, the city of Houston has completed or has underway the paving of 13 streets and installation of storm sewers, the laying of sanitary sewers where none had been before, and the installation of street lights. The city and cooperating groups have opened a health center and a recreation center in the area. The city Parks and Recreation Department is opening a series of "vest pocket parks," blacktopped areas where the neighborhood children can play off the streets.

The city Health Department sent trucks into the area to haul away literally tons of trash that had been collected by the people themselves at the urging of their civic club. The Health Department also sent a mobile immunization unit into the area to serve until a house could be rented and opened as a permanent clinic.

Nearly 200 children are attending classes tutored by students from Rice University, and the University of Houston has offered to join in this program. The classes meet after school twice a week at a local church.

Landlords in the area have pledged paint and building materials in return for promises of their tenants to fix up their own homes.

The results have already been spectacular. The streets are no longer rivers of mud following a light rain. Trash no longer lines the streets and fills the vacant lots. And there seems to be a new atmosphere of hope in "The Bottom," hope that was not there 6 months ago.

The people of "The Bottom" have proved the object lesson to their neighbors that we had hoped they could prove—that self help and working together *can* overcome years of indifference, indifference on the part of the city and of the residents themselves.

The city of Houston is hopeful that we can expand "Project Partner" in the very near future to another area of Houston where the needs are similar and where we can profit by the lessons learned in "The Bottom."

HOUSTON CHRONICLE photo

Residents of "The Bottom" stand in line for inoculations, the first step in Project Partner designed to upgrade the area. At left is project coordinator Miss Maxine Baker. In foreground, a VISTA worker holds a child who received the free service.

JOBS FOR NEW YORK CITY'S POOR

OSCAR A. ORNATI

People looking for work and employers searching for workers get together in a haphazard and complex way. The matches that do take place are brought about by the "working of the job market," and its institutions, systems of information, and a sum of specific individual actions. In this "market," there is a multiplicity of frictions, impediments, and barriers that make the match between job and jobseeker anything but simple. Eonomists and job market analysts are aware of the limitations on the workings of the market, of these "imperfections," but no effort is made to understand them with precision, to assess their impact, or devise ways to reduce them. Project Labor Market—a program financed by the city of New York and sponsored by the Graduate School of Business Administration, New York University—is primarily concerned with the manner in which imperfections in the

Oscar A. Ornati is Director of Project Labor Market, Professor of Management, Graduate School of Business Administration, New York University.

market affect the poor and the means for removing them.

In the summer of 1967, the city of New York did not have a significant level of aggregate unemployment. There was in general no surplus of jobseekers over job vacancies. In spite of this, the continued presence of many unemployed (but employable) poor has led to Project Labor Market's "in-depth" analysis of current employment barriers and problems.

We began with demographic analysis and found changes in the population structure of New York City which have significantly influenced the scope and magnitude of poverty. Central is the fact that the city's population is getting younger and more nonwhite. There is also an increase in the number of people not working and earning who depend upon those who are.

Significant to the last point are the determinants of welfare case loads and the relationship between welfare practices and job market participation of the poor, which we have analyzed. We noticed that in many ways administration of welfare assistance in itself forms barriers to going to work, and that further administrative liberalization may simply lead to more individuals being allowed on welfare. Although we look with favor upon the trend toward more liberal understanding and treatment of the poor, the conflict in goals which results from liberalization is being examined in detail.

Barriers to Employment

The barriers are many and we have arrived at some leading findings, remarks, and recommendations. The private employment agencies, because of their location and patterns of specialization, make a relatively low contribution in placing the poor. We point to the need for more integration of private agency activities with State placement efforts and those of the city. The temporary employment agencies, on the other hand, have made a significant impact on the market as to the number of people employed and placements of the poor. These agencies perform an important "training" function, and are among the city's best channels of entry into the market. Although their location —mostly in mid-Manhattan—is a handicap, we are considering the possibility of their role being strengthened. We are examining the feasibility of an integrated system of automation for placement and information sorting in existing agencies and new intake centers in poverty neighborhoods.

One of the sources of current ills has been found in licensing. Licens-

ing is known to be a barrier to entry in employment, involving cost both to the individual and the community. City actions on licensing are in general carried on without consideration of employment effects. This can be changed.

For example, a change in procedures governing issuance of Youth Employment Certifications would bring an increase of about 10 percent in labor force participation of youth aged 16 to 18, involving as much as an additional 22,500 youths in 1968, 22,750 in 1969, and 22,900 by 1970.

Traveling to Work

Besides the institutional and licensing barriers affecting employment, Project Labor Market has studied work travel patterns in the city. A detailed analysis, for example, of six areas in central Brooklyn, where the poor live, showed that it is easier, cheaper, and faster to reach parts of the Bronx some 15 miles away than nearby Brooklyn industrial employment districts only 4 miles distant. Even in Manhattan, the main employment centers are removed from the borough's poorer neighborhoods.

We have studied the effects of suburban as well as inter- and intraborough travel on employment, finding the accessibility of suburban areas to both poverty and nonpoverty area workers almost insignificant. There is also some indication of neighborhood "transit habits" where areas are stable. However, new or changing populations tend to break the transit "habit." Inasmuch as route decisions are made upon stable transit habits, the poor turn out to be significantly less well served than the middle classes—even in New York City where there is excellent public transportation.

Using a sample of all those with Social Security coverage employed in the city of New York, we are analyzing the extent to which intermittent work (i.e., employment by six or more employers) is due to employer practices or to the individual's own proclivity for casual employment, and what groups are so inclined. From the possible discovery of industries with many casual workers, we expect to identify areas of "casual" labor not usually recognized as such and to examine the feasibility of their decasualization.

The possibility of increasing the role of the city as employer of the poor through job restructuring has been examined by Project Labor Market and specific recommendations are being prepared. Recent national concern with the problem of poverty—as distinguished from the racial problem intermeshing it—has generated three basically new ideas: Income guarantees as a right, expansion of the number and role of nonprofessionals, and "the government as an employer of last resort." All of these are being examined, but we are focusing on an integration of the last two.

We are encouraged to believe that, if present economic conditions continue and forecasts for the city's future economic development are reliable, the number of individuals who would actually take advantage of the city as employer of last resort will be small. The costs—if at least some Federal funds can be obtained for it—would be limited. Permanent introduction of such a scheme might have large psychological, educational, and income benefits.

Lack of Skill

There is no need for further research to establish that individuals lacking skills are in most cases poor. Nor do we need more studies to prove that the city's poor are insufficiently endowed with the skills that yield higher incomes. Although there has been considerable evidence in the immediate past—1964 through the present—of significant entry job vacancies for positions requiring little skill, Project Labor Market is also concerned with the skill advancement of those already employed and will evaluate some of the recently developed training programs for the employed and the unemployed as well.

The expansion in the number of welfare recipients receiving training is a major achievement, with the number rising from about 200 in 1960 to 4,216 in 1967! Yet the notion of training for its own sake or for a specific job should not be glorified above *training for participation in the job market.* In our study of these programs for the poor, we are convinced that it is more important to *decide upon what an individual needs to know than upon the job he can obtain.*

New York City has the administrative structure, the Human Resources Administration, and the plant, the public schools, and the private schools to raise the skill level of the poor population. They can be transformed from a liability into an asset in a few years and provide the city with one of its most important "external economies."

Project Labor Market estimates that, in August 1967, 2,000 to 3,000 persons were enrolled in MDTA and similar training programs. This is a much smaller number than the Nation's and the city's policy makers intended, and we have not learned why, nor have we been able to determine to what degree current training efforts are related to considerations of the city's future economic developments and plans related to them.

Although alternatives are not clear or in sight, the overall status of vocational education in our public schools and the continuous political controversy surrounding public education argue against expectation of more than a modicum of success in changing them through the "demonstration effect" of existing training programs.

The city government—with help of some State and Federal funds—has created an *ad hoc* system that provides approximately 17,000 additional training slots. This expansion in services gives new status, consciousness, and importance to

training the poor. But more needs to be done.

In Project Labor Market's analysis of the coexistence of the *ad hoc* training system with present public and private educational institutions, certain thoughts appear salient.

The development of the *ad hoc* system can be viewed as a response to the perceived "failure" of existing institutions as trainers of the city's labor force. The nature and causes of this matter need to be located: Racism is undoubtedly part of the story; so is the fact that our public schools do not perceive as their function the training of the labor force. Each year, roughly 60,000 youths enter the job market equipped with nothing more realistic than general public school education or less. Some—probably more each year—receive further and more adequate training through public auspices, but these are a small minority.

The most crucial training or retraining for work, in whatever age group, is received in private specialized vocational-type schools. The number and characteristics of such enrollees is not easily available, and Project Labor Market hopes to contribute to the knowledge of this area of the job market. A surprisingly large number of individuals—estimated at 80,000 to 100,000—receive training and are prepared for work by these private schools outside the *ad hoc* system.

The fact remains that the bulk of effective job training, which transforms a potential worker into a "productive labor input," still takes place informally on the job—with or without privately or publicly financed training programs. Employment thus remains the strongest form of training.

The little we have said here on the findings and questions of Project Labor Market indicates the many strands of analysis and action involved. Much is being done in New York City to improve the workings of the job market and the quality of the city's labor supply, but the problem remains of making this market more effective where the poor are concerned.

Our work suggests agreement with the dictum of the Institute of Public Administration that the city's human resources are its most crucial asset. It also suggests that job market strategies and the city's antipoverty activities must focus on reviewing the institutions and regulations originally established to help the poor of an earlier age, but, which today handicap them with barriers and rules from which no one benefits. No definitive date can be set for the final eradication of poverty through employment or training efforts, not even the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence nor the 400th anniversary of the city's first charter. The fight against poverty is, and will always be, a continuing task.

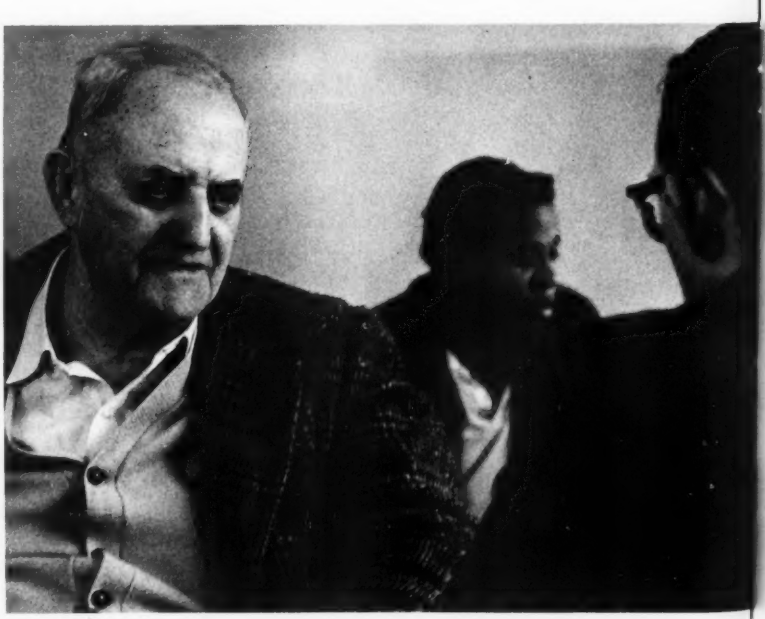
Personnel Tests and the Older Worker

CLIFFORD E. JURGENSEN

There is only one alternative to growing old. Those who avoid the alternative find life to be a matter of building up and breaking down. The building up period can be considered a period of maturing, and the breaking down period as one of aging. Every human capacity has an initial growth, attains a maximum, and then begins to decline. The age at which the maximum is attained varies from one ability to another, but rarely occurs beyond 30, in most cases occurs somewhere in the mid 20's, and in some cases can occur even before age 20. The decline is likely to be essentially linear between the ages of 30 and 60. After age 60, the decline tends to become curvilinear, and the rate increases rapidly. The important point is that deterioration is not something that starts when old age sets in. It starts at, or even before, what is normally considered to be the prime of life.

These generalities are based on averages, and it is always dangerous to speak in terms of averages: there was a 6-foot man who drowned while wading a stream averaging 2 feet in depth. It is imperative that we recognize the existence of individual differences. Some people are "older" at age 50 than others are at age 70.

Granting that deterioration of all human capacities does exist, and



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frequently starts at a much earlier age than generally recognized, what, exactly, does this mean with reference to validity of employment tests for older applicants? At this point, we must be very careful in our thinking and in our logic: are we really interested in deterioration of test scores per se, or are we interested in deterioration in job performance? The two are not identical, and they can vary independently. We must direct our attention to each of two questions. *First,* do test scores really decrease with advancing age or is this merely a popular fallacy? *Second,* if there is a negative relationship between age and test scores, is this reflected in job performance; in other words, are test scores of older workers invalid predictors of their job success?

Let us first ask if test scores really do decrease with advancing age. At the Minnesota Gas Co., we have administered an 8-hour test battery to 115 department heads, supervisors, and administrators. A primary purpose of this manpower inventory was to determine test validity and to establish test standards for applicants hired in the future. For this reason, we gave the battery to all management personnel, even those to be retired within a year or so. The mean age of the group was 45.7 years, with a sigma of 9.8. The battery included 11 cognitive tests, which provided 20 separate scores. Within this group, and with the particular tests used, we found that all 20 scores correlated negatively with age. The correlations ranged from −0.15 to −0.69, with medium coefficient of −0.55.

Although these results would suggest that older employees are unfairly handicapped by lowered test scores, it should be pointed out that the correlation between age and our criterion of executive success was −0.79. In other words, age affected job success more than age affected test scores. We don't know all the reasons. One factor related to the fact that the older executives had less education than did the younger ones. A second was that there had been a definite and a successful attempt to upgrade the management personnel by bringing in new and better blood during the last 20 years. These recently hired individuals were in almost all cases in the younger age brackets. In the absence of a longitudinal study, we cannot be sure but that the lower scores of older workers resulted from factors other than decline accompanying increasing age. The older workers might have been the low-scoring individuals even if tested at an earlier age.

Conclusions from the above study are supported by another study in which the 42 top executives of Minnesota Gas were tested with a battery including five cognitive tests. The individuals in this group were the officers and other major executives of Minnegasco. Their mean age was 44.1 and the sigma was 8.7—essentially the same as the previous group. In this higher status group, age correlated −0.06 with the criterion of executive success as compared with the correlation of −0.79 in the lower level executives. Within this top-level group of executives, therefore, increasing age was not accompanied by decreasing job success.

The effect of age on test scores was determined by computing partial validity coefficients. In effect, this statistical technique holds age constant by cancelling out any effect related to age. When comparing the basic validity coefficients with the partial coefficients, we found no difference. The basic coefficients ranged from 0.31 to 0.55, and the partial coefficients ranged from 0.31 to 0.60. Here, then, is further evidence that increasing age, per se, does not result in decreased test scores—at least on the top executive level up to age 65.

The group of 115 executives previously mentioned also provided data on effect of age in another way. The amount of decline in test scores varied greatly from one type of test to another. The three tests showing the least decline were Shipley-Hartford Vocabulary, DAT Spelling, and Bennett Test of Mechanical Comprehension. The three tests showing the greatest decrease in score were DAT Abstract Reasoning, Shipley-Hartford Abstraction, and Wonderlic Personnel Test. Two possible factors may be relevant: (1) speed versus power and (2) concreteness versus abstraction.

The Bennett Test of Mechanical Comprehension is untimed, and both the vocabulary and spelling tests have unusually liberal time limits. On the other hand, the Wonderlic and both of the abstraction tests are highly speeded, and these are the tests on which scores dropped most with increasing age. Older persons might be handicapped more by highly speeded tests than they would be handicapped by tests with liberal time limits.

Evidence on this hypothesis can be obtained by comparing the effect of age on timed and untimed mental ability tests. These are often considered to measure the same thing, and tend to be used interchangeably. This assumption of equivalence warrants investigation, particularly with respect to job applicants of advanced age or limited education. In the school situation, pupils are accustomed to working with pencil and paper under pressure of time. This is not so true of older persons with limited education.

The group of Minnesota executives underwent an abstract reasoning test with a 12-minute time limit, and the executives were then permitted to continue with a pencil of a different color lead. Both the speed and the power scores were equally correlated with age. These coefficients were −0.52 and −0.54, showing no difference with respect to age.

The effect of age on tests of various degrees of abstraction is equally interesting. Psychologists and psychiatrists have long held the theory

(*Continued on page 30*)

THE OLDER WORKER—

An Objective Assessment

ROBERT S. WALDROP

With irregular but persistent frequency, I am visited by security officers from various Government offices to inquire about students who have been advisees or in classes of mine. Usually, they will at some point pose the following question, "In your opinion, is this person qualified to do the job?" My reply is also a question, "What job?" To which they answer, "Oh, I am not at liberty to disclose that information."

Without knowing what job, it is difficult to talk about what assessment procedures would be appropriate and to emphasize the importance of this knowledge in the case of the older worker and the necessity for an individual approach assessment.

But there are some other facets of this individual approach that need to be explored. I am not sure what it is that describes aging or just who is the older worker. English and English in their dictionary define aging as "the continuous process, beginning at conception and ending with death, wherein the structures and functions of an immature organism first become mature and then deteriorate. Some functions age more rapidly than others, as do some individuals." Lindzey refers to making an estimate of behaviour in the most permissive sense, i.e., using instruments and techniques possessing few of the metric properties that are usually considered desirable. Moreover, it is customarily em-

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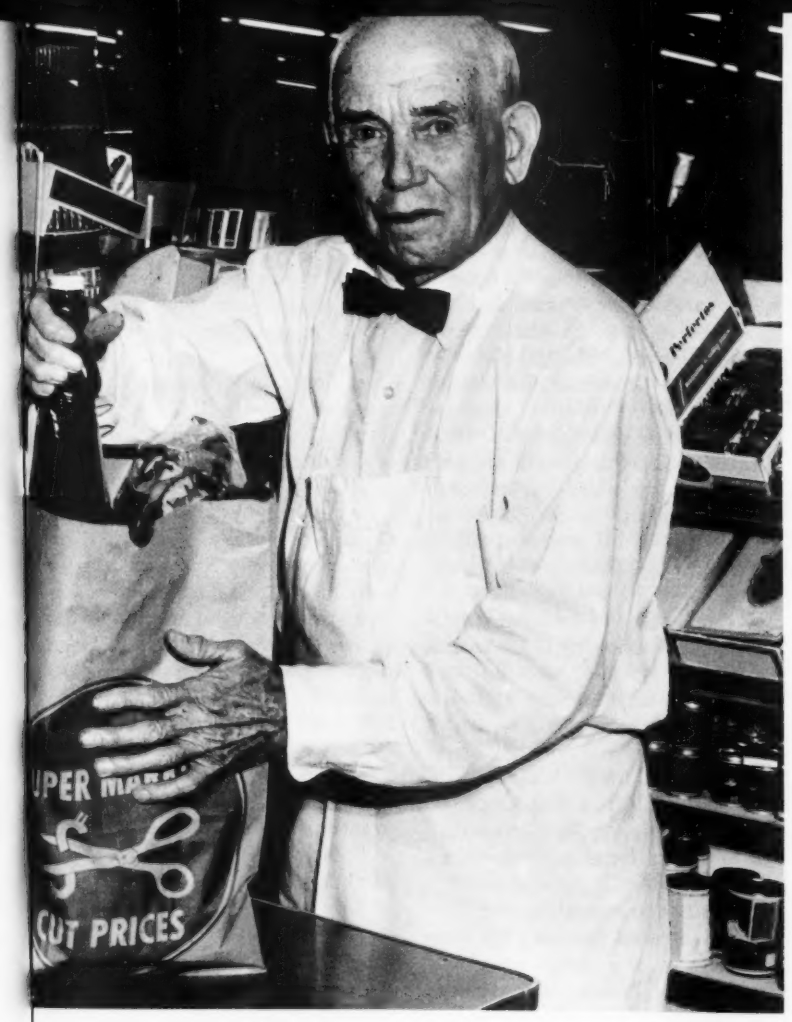

ployed in reference to the appraisal of personality characteristics. Cronbach identifies three essential aspects of assessment as: "use of variety of techniques; primary reliance on observations in unstructured situations; and integration of information by experienced psychologists. No assessment program refuses to employ intelligence test scores or other relevant facts, but the emphasis remains upon synthesizing these data quasiartistically rather than upon combining separate scores in a statistical formula." Therefore, in objectively assessing the potential of the older worker, we are beset with (1) an inadequate definition of who is an older worker, (2) no techniques or instruments designed or proven specially for the o l d e r worker, and (3) a large number of jobs which vary almost as much in their requirements as do the qualifications of the older workers who might fill them. To establish some operational definitions, let us say that the older worker is one who has begun to respond to the inroads of the passage of time and yet finds it necessary to be gainfully employed. Objectivity in the process of assessment means that the assessor will strive to keep his personal values, judgments, and attitudes out of the assessment process and that he will employ procedures which will aid in minimizing this type of contamination.

My first point has to do with what I term potentiality alertness. Professor John Anderson, 11 years ago in introducing a symposium on research in aging, made some remarks that will aid us in focusing on this topic. He formulated what he termed *the most important hypothesis* in these words, "Energetic activity accompanied by deep concern delays deterioration for a measureable time." He continues, "This assumes that a human organism is a mechanism with high intake and high outgo and that a stable and substantial relation between stimulation and output builds up the organism, maintains it as an effective system, and retards its decline. . . . In considering this proposition, it becomes clear that deterioration will ultimately come because, quite apart from pathological changes, the force which we call life runs down. But potentials under optimal conditions are probably far greater than we ordinarily assume."

The first concern then of the assessor should be to appraise carefully whether the potential is greater than either the counselor or the older worker realizes initially. Early exploration of the potential beginning with this assumption, if done thoroughly, will lead to a different series of tests and techniques than if one assumes there is minimum potential or takes the client's word for it. In the latter instance, a certain perfunctory assignment of tests and interpretation will more likely result than if one assumes there is potential. With this explication, let us discuss some of the specifics of objective assessment as usually considered and view these in the light of assessment of the older worker.

Intelligence.—The area of objective assessment that comes imme-

diately to mind is that of intelligence. But which test of intelligence depends upon the appropriateness for the individual and the level and nature of the work likely to be considered? With the older worker, what is probably more important is determining a strategy or approach to a problem. For the older worker, one should be more sensitive to appraising some of the qualities of intelligence; for example, judgment, wisdom, integration of past experiences, associative processes, short term memory. For most jobs for which the older worker is likely to be considered, the IQ, or intelligence test score, would not be as meaningful as a clear notion of some of the qualitative aspects of intelligence or, more specifically, the functioning of the cognitive processes.

Interests.—Another area customarily included in objective assessment is that of interests. In the opinion of the worker, the use of the standard inventories can be more damaging than helpful to the older client. An approach which is less organized but also less threatening to the older worker is to have him list and review pro and con all the interests he can recall. These will likely be the more important ones anyway. Then with the assistance from the counselor, review 40 to 100 other areas and activities in the same fashion. The use of some of the items from any of the standardized blanks can be effective if handled by the counselor in a personal manner. Such an approach must be judged carefully and used cautiously with full regard for the feelings of the client. In general, this is not an area of major significance in assessing the potential of the older worker.

Personality.—An obvious but sometimes overemphasized area of objective assessment is that of personality. As you know, there are a number of well developed instruments which cover measurement and assessment of personality quite satisfactorily. One of the problems is that our researches have not provided adequate normative data for direct application to the older worker. The other is the way in which the results of such instruments are used. Nonetheless, scale scores from the MCI, CPI, EPPS, KPR–A, to mention a few, can be used effectively to provide a relative personality pattern for intra-individual analysis if not a comparative one in terms of norms. Although objective scoring can be accomplished with these self-report types of tests, the crux of the matter lies in the idiographic interpretation and application. With the older worker, even greater care and sensitivity are required if a useful and meaningful personality assessment is to be made.

Values.—One of the most important areas of assessment of work potential for job placement but one which receives too little attention has to do with the value system of the particular individual. This is especially true for the older worker. The Study of Values continues to be useful, and we can look forward to the advent of Super's Work Values Test for further help in aiding the older worker in potential assessment. It is in this area that one gets close to the value or worth of work and finds the answers to such questions as: Why does the client want to work? What does a job mean besides money income, if anything? Why may one job paying less produce more satisfaction, better production, and increased likelihood of continuity than one which pays more? Both the client and the counselor need to be alert to the fundamental nature and significance of one's worth system.

Social Integument.—Finally, there is one other significant area for assessment of the older worker: social integument. Integument is a medical term for covering (skin) and investment. In this context, it means the covering of the individual which protects him from social inroads, the permeability which allows easy comfortable social interchange, and the extent of the investment in society social type activities by the individual. The term seems quite applicable for this type of client who may perceive himself as "on the shelf." Especially for the older worker, it is important to know answers to questions such as: Is he calloused and suspicious of society (the business world in particular)? Does he feel that he has gotten a raw deal? Has he achieved a comfortable interchange between himself and society? Does he have any social life? To what extent does he have any investment in the activities of the community? Agreed, there is no objectively scoreable test for such information. But I ask that you recall the broadened meaning of objective assessment mentioned earlier. Objective assessment is the detached personally noninvolved exploration and interpretation of the client's interview and test responses. With this definition, an objective assessment of this area of life has much to offer in aiding the older worker in finding a satisfying and satisfactory placement.

Adaptation

In summary, the older worker is not one who is overriden with pathology just because he is older and not employed or wants to change employment. He may just want to better his situation, whatever that may be. Hahn terms such a move toward self-actualization "adaptation." Basically, we are dealing with the process of an individual seeking realization of his potential through adapting to a personal and social situation, not one who is beset with a pathological condition. These are individuals who are in the age of becoming or reaping, but who because of circumstances can neither become nor reap. To approach the assessment of the older worker with this viewpoint is to take a position that is consistent with the meaning of potential.

(*Continued from page 11*)

taries, general laborers, and so on.

Much of plastics processing is carried out by highly mechanized equipment. As a result, numerous jobs can be handled by relatively unskilled or semiskilled personnel. In such cases, persons with no experience can be hired and given on-the-job training ranging from a few days to a few months.

But also there are great opportunities for those who wish to specialize in the more complex operations, and are willing and able to take the extra training enabling them to qualify.

In Just One Phase

Illustrations in this respect can be cited, for instance, in the case of one phase of the industry which is called *compression molding.*

This is one of the common methods of molding. A good example is the production of a coffee-maker base—a process similar to that used in making such other items as cups and saucers.

After the appliance manufacturer has decided what size and shape of cabinet he desires, a *tool and die-maker* uses his skill, knowledge, and machinery to shape the necessary molds from steel. His work is the most skilled in the plant.

Once the steel molds are ready, they are mounted in the plastic molding machine by the *setup man,* another highly skilled workman.

Then the *molding-machine operator* sets the proper pressure and heat gauges to achieve the desired specifications for the plastic and pours the required amount of molding powder into the machine.

Under heat, the plastic compound liquefies and flows into the mold. Then as it cools, it hardens into shape.

Upon elapse of a carefully measured time, the *operator* opens the machine, takes out the molded part, inspects it for obvious flaws and, if satisfied, sends it on to a finishing room by conveyor.

In the finishing room a *drill press operator* removes what is called flash, or excess plastic; then a *grinder* or *filer* and a *buffer* perform various refinements of the process, including polishing. Women handle much of this type of work.

Thereafter, the plastic bases are examined by *inspectors,* who employ special instruments to make certain the bases meet all requirements for unbreakability, strength, and tolerance before being shipped off for final assembly.

Another important man in the process is called the *oven man* or *powder man.* It is his task to prepare the proper molding powder for the specific job at hand, and keep the bins of the molding machines supplied. He is an expert in the various molding materials and combinations of them.

Numerous Types of Specialists

Of course, there are many more types of specialists throughout the industry, depending on the nature of the production.

Aside from everything else, plastics is a fascinating business—to the producer as well as the consumer. From both standpoints, here is a sort of capsule of what is going on now and what the future portends:

In construction, the largest market of the industry at present, plastics are becoming preferred over other materials for interior walls, partitions, and floors. Next to come is far greater use in roofing and outdoor siding, unitized built-in bathroom fixtures, and plumbing of all types.

Packaging is the second largest market. A survey conducted by National Family Opinion, Inc., for SALES MANAGEMENT magazine found that the average housewife today prefers plastic packaging to that of any other material.

Transportation is the third greatest user of plastics. Detroit increasingly has been favoring plastics for more and more car parts. There has, been much speculation about entire car bodies made of plastics. That step may be closer than many people think. But whatever develops, more than 500 million pounds of plastics went into 1967 American automobiles and trucks, compared with 350 million pounds for the previous year's models. The prediction for 1970 is 70 to 100 pounds per car, or a total of somewhere around a billion pounds. Aircraft manufacturers are growing users, as are boat builders, railroads, cargo shippers, and practically everyone else who makes a moving vehicle—even spacecraft.

In electronics, growing use of plastics includes transistors for every kind of communication device, recording tape, switches, relays, capacitors, and a vastly growing market in computer construction—these are just enough for a quick glance. Wire and cable coverings alone took 500 million pounds of plastic last year.

Or to look in an entirely different direction we expect plastics to energize agricultural progress during the coming decades when millions more people will need food from less land. To suggest but a few uses for plastics in agriculture: Pest control, soil retention, storage of crops and silage, fumigation, water conservation, water "harvesting," and climatic modification for growing plants.

Of course, all these are just a few of the things that plastics have done and are doing—enough to demonstrate that this is an industry of dynamic developments, and destined to create a growing market for manpower.

If we grow foods and people under plastics, and use plastics to package their foods for them, to transport them, and to house and encapsulate the components for their machines for living, for working, and for recreation, then plastics materials surely must be the real wonder-workers of today—and tomorrow.

OECD and the Older Worker

SOLOMON BARKIN

Older workers in many nations share similar job problems. This is particularly true in the industrialized countries where the numbers of workers in the 40-plus segment of the labor force are increasing, and where many are finding age to be a barrier to finding productive employment. The Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, with its 21-nation membership, is well aware of the widespread and growing nature of the problems, and has taken positive steps to identify the major problems and suggest programs aimed at their solution.

Thus, in recent months the OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Committee has completed exhaustive studies relating to older workers in such areas as job redesign, training methods, placement techniques, and flexible retirement age for continued employment. These studies were followed by an international management seminar and a regional multipartite seminar on job redesign and occupational training. From this

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research, the Committee has formulated conclusions on policies for older worker employment, and is persuaded that knowledge and utilization of these findings would contribute to attaining objectives of an active manpower policy. This is in keeping with the OECD Council recommendation on an active manpower policy that calls for the "intensification of measures to make it easier for marginal groups of workers to take up and keep gainful employment."

The Committee found that the problems lie in three general areas. The conclusions it reached are as follows:

"Although the employment problems of older workers may in some cases become apparent on the job through falling productivity, they more often become more evident when these workers have to seek new jobs or transfer to new occupations requiring training due in some cases to (1) high rate of technological and economic change; (2) the fact that many younger people have had longer and more recent periods of education and training. The preference for younger persons and the views held by some employers concerning older workers as a class constitute barriers to a fair appraisal of their personal competence and potentialities. The prevalence of formal or informal age limits in hiring and job placements is evidence of these attitudes, even if exceptions are made or the limits relaxed in periods of labor shortage.

"Discrimination where it exists against older persons is sometimes derived from institutional rules such as personnel practices favoring internal promotion or insurance plans. It is often reinforced by the failure of hiring officers to ascertain the individual's abilities and qualifications, or the inadequacy of existing tests of personal capacity or performance. Limited knowledge by some managements of the special techniques of job redesign and training methods for older workers tends to reinforce this resistance to their employment.

"Individual older persons reduce the possibilities for their own easy adaptation by resisting retraining. Others willing to undertake such preparation find the facilities inadequate and methods ill-adapted to their needs. The costs and special personal factors involved in the movement discourage some to make transfers to new jobs. In common with other workers, individual older workers often lack knowledge of vacancies and jobseeking methods. Personal adjustment problems make reabsorption into employment difficult for some."

The Committee has suggested a variety of specific programs that it believes would not only increase the numbers of older workers taking an active part in the economy, but would give adjustment assistance to those who would benefit from such help. These constructive programs are:

"Member countries should consider measures seeking to prevent older workers from being forced into *unemployment,* less remunerative employment, and premature retirement, and to extend the opportunities for their productive employment. Measures of this

(*Continued on page 31*)

ON CHOCTAW RIDGE

AND IN CALIFORNIA

Industry Attempts a Total Approach to Unemployment

There was a time when the Choctaw Indians occupied a wide band across the southeastern United States, from the west of Georgia to Mississippi's Tallahatchie River. They were the preeminent farmers of the southern Indians and such wars as they waged were largely defensive ones. Their name signified their separation from the other tribes of the Southeast and for a long while they attempted to coexist with the settlers around them. But like most of the eastern Indians, the Choctaw were ultimately forced westward.

Today, the southeastern Choctaw number no more than 5,000, almost all of them included among the 600 families living on or near

Trainees in a radio/TV repair class at the Madera, Calif. Employment Training Center.

SARAH SAWYER

the seven tribal lands in Mississippi.

Their lot, even for American Indians, has been a hard one. Most of them are still farmers but now they are more likely to be tenants or sharecroppers than tillers of their own soil. The average annual family income is approximately $900 and the average adult male has 2 years of formal education.

About 50 families derive their main income from working in Mississippi's lumber industry and perhaps 75 more are supported by factory work, making garments and small motors. The remainder offer industry few employable skills.

In December of 1966, the Bureau of Indian Affairs set about to remedy the Choctaw dilemma. A contract was awarded to the RCA Service Company, a division of the Radio Corporation of America, to establish and operate a unique family training program. Opened in March near Philadelphia, Miss., the RCA training center has become a halfway house for the Choctaw.

The training program is designed to prepare entire families for transition to urban life on a voluntary basis. The families—25 at first—were moved from their plank huts to a complex of neat, ranch-style houses and training trailers to begin a comprehensive program of basic education, vocational training, and counseling in family life.

The men attend class for a full day, half of it spent in basic education sessions where the teacher-student ratio averages 1–6. The other half day is given over to skill training in the effective use of all hand tools and an assortment of machine tools, basic carpentry, how to read diagrams and blueprints, and how to drive.

They put in a regular work day, punching a time clock and receiving pay cuts for unexcused absences. Depending on the sizes of their families, they are paid from $125 to $262.50 a month, a scale kept deliberately below the minimum wage so they will have something

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Trainees receive instruction in antenna installation.

to move up to when they graduate. From these stipends, they must pay their rent and utilities, for food and clothing, and other family necessities.

The women spend a half day in basic education and homemaking classes and the other half practicing at home what they learned. Family planning instruction is provided and so is counseling in family finances. Periodically, the women are escorted to local grocery stores by the staff home economists so they can learn first hand the problems of the urban consumer.

The preschool children attend a day care center with a Head Start-type program and the school-age children go to the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools nearby. Training in urban living involves the children as well as the adults.

When they enroll, the families are told they will be trained for employment wherever it can be found. They will not be required to leave the reservation, but it is expected that once they have completed the average 12 months of training they will want to go wherever a good job can be located and will be well prepared for urban life.

"There's no way for me and my family here," says one of the men, "because I just can't get a job. I don't want to go so far away but I wouldn't mind going as far as Memphis."

Memphis is, in fact, where the program's placement officer will concentrate much of his effort, along with Jackson, Miss., and nearby Philadelphia. Members of the RCA staff are discussing the program with Mississippi and Memphis industries, trying to determine their labor needs and insure cooperation with the project. At this point, they are optimistic about placement prospects.

The project soon will be enlarged to include 55 families, and reservation officials hope they will be able to carry on the training until every interested family can be accommodated.

Robert Murray, director of the

26-member project staff, is convinced that the family-style, total approach to training is the only way the Indians will ever raise themselves above the poverty line. He sees it, as well, as the logical approach to training all unemployables.

"I don't care whether it's Indians, migrants, Negroes or whoever," he says, "we must change the total environment. All training must be total training because teaching a man a skill and nothing else will still see him moving to a ghetto and drinking up his earnings."

"The idea of furnishing the whole family with skills at urban living," says Murray, "has merit for solving the American employment problem, not just the Indian employment problem."

Dr. Arnold Oates of the Philco-Ford Corp., who runs a similar program for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Madera, Calif., agrees with Murray that family training has strong possibilities for other segments of the poverty population.

"By undergoing complete acculturation," says Oates, "mothers and fathers both experience personal growth and we have the byproduct of working with the children."

"If the husband or wife undergoes acculturation alone," he contends, "one will mature beyond the other and marital problems will develop."

The California program—operated for the BIA by Philco-Ford's Educational and Technical Services Division—trains single men and women as well as families but applies the same environmental training principle.

The Madera center is larger than the Choctaw program and draws its enrollees from tribes throughout the western States. The center, located on a former Air Force radar site, opened in April and now has more than 30 families and about 170 single men and women, from some 40 tribes.

Dr. Oates says they had no trouble recruiting enrollees, and the dropout rate for the families has been less than 10 percent. For the singles the rate has been closer to 20 percent, but they are younger than the family adults, are less mature, and do not have as strong an involvement since they did not uproot their families.

Unlike the Mississippi project, the Madera center trains the women in vocational skills as well as home economics. The skill training is at a higher level than in Mississippi, and includes auto mechanics, electronics, welding, general maintenance, appliance repair, drafting, shorthand, and typing. The 110 staff members include consumer experts and home economists, day-care attendants for the small children, basic education instructors, the vocational trainers, and a small health clinic staff.

The placement program will be concentrated on Los Angeles, the Bay Area, and Denver, as well as within the Philco-Ford organization, and Oates foresees no insurmountable problem here. The real problems, he says, are similar to those problems confronting any poverty group, and the Madera program includes counseling designed to assist the individual in solving personal problems.

Oates already has received inquiries from other California poverty programs and some have shown an interest in establishing similar family training projects. Oates claims—on the basis of present experiences—the families should be moved into a more structured environment to make a success of a program of this sort.

Total environmental training, Oates believes, is the best answer yet for training unemployables and insuring their success after they begin work. He points out that the poor suffer not merely from a lack of employable skills but also are alienated from society and are having difficulty coping with urban life. His belief is that you must teach the poor how to live well as well as work well.

So far, his enrollees apparently are satisfied with this idea. Says one—a Flathead woman from Montana—"I'm glad we came here because even though we knew it was going to be hard we didn't think we had any other choice."

While their parents attend classes, preschool children are cared for in the day nursery.

(Continued from page 19)

that in cases of mental deterioration, higher mental functions deteriorate earlier than do lower mental functions. This theory has served as the basis for one well-known test of mental deterioration: the Shipley-Hartford Institute of Living Scale. The test has two parts: a test of vocabulary and a test of abstract (conceptual) thinking. Mental impairment is estimated by a "conceptual quotient" which is the ratio of the individual's abstraction age to his vocabulary age. It is based on the clinico-experimental observation that in mild degrees of mental deterioration, and in other conditions involving intellectual impairment, vocabulary is relatively unaffected, but the capacity for conceptual thinking declines rapidly.

We have administered the Shipley-Hartford Institute of Living Scale to 9,000 Minnegasco job applicants ranging in age from 16 to 65 years. There was no relation between age and vocabulary score. The abstraction score told a different story. Scores began to decline at age 20 and deterioration was progressive to age 65, with most of the deterioration occurring before age 35!

A number of years ago I tested and interviewed 50 scientists who were being considered for employment in Africa on a 3-year contract between a U.S. mining company, the U.S. State Department, and the Portuguese Government. These scientists were high level, most of them had Ph. D. degrees, were listed in *American Men of Science,* and were authors of numerous research studies. In addition, many were listed in *Who's Who in America,* were authors of widely known textbooks, and were full professors in major universities. Several were university department heads. All came to Minneapolis for testing and interviewing, and some from distant places, including the Northwest Territory of Canada, Central and South America.

Test scores of 12 of these high-level applicants (24 percent) indicated deterioration ranging from probable mental impairment to probable pathology. This finding was unexpected, and was incompatible with the achievements of the individuals—including recent achievements. Further investigation showed one common factor in these cases of mental deterioration: all arrived in Minneapolis after lengthy plane flights during the night, came directly to my office from the airport, and were then tested in the morning hours. This common denominator provided a clue for a hypothesis which was subsequently investigated and verified. We found that the Shipley-Hartford Institute of Living Scale is so sensitive to transitory conditions (such as loss of a night's sleep, or a couple of martinis) that many normal individuals show mental deterioration of a temporary and transitory type when tested under such conditions.

This gave rise to the hypothesis that other individuals showing mental impairment on the basis of this test might not be irreparably deteriorated in any true sense of the word. Although we were unable to conduct a rigid scientific study under controlled conditions, we obtained considerable evidence that much so-called mental deterioration among older workers and job applicants might be reversible and might be overcome under favorable conditions. Much of such deterioration seems to result when an individual's work and other life activities fail to provide him with a challenge, and he falls into a rut of complacency. A crucial point here, of course, is the individual's perception of his world rather than the true situation. If such person subsequently gets into a job which he considers to be challenging, his so-called mental impairment or deterioration may disappear partially or even completely. The extent of "rehabilitation" would depend on the degree of deterioration, the time period for which the deteriorated condition extended, the degree of the newly perceived challenge, and the motivation to succeed in the new situation.

Some of the research findings which I have quoted have dealt with executives, and others with run-of-the-mill job applicants. This brings up another aspect of deterioration: the onset of deterioration is earlier, and the rate of decline is greater, for persons of below-average intelligence than for those who are above average. Whether this seems fair or not is irrelevant; it is a fact of life and must be dealt with as such. It has profound operational significance for the U.S. Employment Service. Persons of limited intellectual capacity are likely to have more difficulty in finding employment than will intellectually gifted persons, and therefore the public Employment Service is likely to see more persons of limited ability than the normal curve of distribution would indicate. Inasmuch as these persons started to deteriorate earlier than most, the problems are intensified. Their increased rate of decline magnifies the problem still more.

Consciously or unconsciously, some companies do tend to discriminate against older workers. Use of tests often makes job placement of older workers more difficult. In some cases, tests correctly show lessened capacity for job success; and in other cases, test scores are lowered by factors unrelated to job performance. It is no wonder that many persons sometimes feel like throwing out all tests, and that some persons seriously advocate such action. However, we must ask ourselves: what is the alternative? When we do this, we realize that tests, deficient as they may be, nevertheless enable us to do a better job, albeit more difficult, in placing older workers. We can do a better job with than without tests.

(*Continued from page 25*)

kind will clearly be of particular interest to countries with relatively full employment. Countries not facing a shortage of workers might also consider whether, in order to make the optimum use of the whole labor force, it might not be desirable to extend the training of younger people and to ensure greater leisure for all, rather than enforce or encourage retirement of older men and women able and willing to work.

"General programs for *health, education, and vocational training* should be available to workers of all ages to promote mental and physical adaptability to changing job requirements and social needs. Some older workers have significant social and psychological problems which call for specialized vocational rehabilitation programs. Therapeutic, health, and rehabilitative aid, social case work counseling and educational services for hard-to-place individuals would also be helpful to some older persons to adjust to current labor market standards.

"A comprehensive and efficient *employment service* is essential for dealing effectively with special hard-to-place individuals. It should provide, through normal or 'mainstream' arrangements or through special services for hard-to-place older workers, as required, interviewing, counseling and testing facilities, and placement procedures which ensure that the abilities of older workers are brought to employers' attention. Special advisory management services on job redesign, arrangements of work schedules, training methods for older workers, procedures for overcoming institutional, insurance, and other barriers should be arranged in the light of national circumstances.

"Training methods employed in public and private establishments should be specifically adapted to the learning needs of older persons. Preparatory general education may be acquired by individuals prior to their occupational training which should be for suitable available jobs. It should be carried out under conditions providing personal security in an environment which minimizes distraction. Special materials should permit learning through controlled experience, participation, discrimination, and discovery in a series of problem-solving tasks. Instruction should be brief and easily comprehensible. The program should allow time for consolidation of what has been learned. Where jobs are not immediately available, current experiments point to the value of multi-occupational training.

"Employers should be discouraged by appropriate means from imposing general *maximum age limits* in engaging new employees. A special educational program should be carried on, particularly among employers, to persuade them to consider older applicants on their individual merit. A number of countries have adopted legislation against discrimination on the basis of age to encourage this attitude among hiring officers.

"*Pension systems* should allow for flexible retirement from work except where job requirements indicate otherwise, and private and public bodies concerned with retirement benefit or pensions systems should be encouraged to review their practice to permit by legislation or regulation greater personal choice as to age of retirement.

"*Special job development programs* in the public services and private industry should be considered, where appropriate, to open up job opportunities particularly adaptable to the abilities of older workers. Shorter daily and weekly working schedules are at times appropriate for people nearing retirement.

"Individual enterprises should promote the *continued utilization of their older employees* through personnel policies which minimize redundancy by internal job transfers, job redesign, and training techniques especially adapted to older workers. Institutional policies and insurance rules which limit the employment of older workers should be modified without impairing the value of these benefits to all employees.

"*Research* into the capacities, performance, and methods of extending the productive employment of older workers should be encouraged and its findings presented by governments, employers, and workers' organizations and by experts in forms easily understood at the implementing level."

Recommendations

The Committee has recommended that countries in the course of development who have persistent unemployment and underemployment should recognize the importance of promoting the employment of older workers and consider application of the above policies. This is true also for countries with relatively full employment and labor shortages who could thereby enlist unemployed, underemployed, and prematurely retired older workers into their labor force. The Committee also urges developed countries with less than full employment to consider active participation of older workers for optimum allocation of manpower for economic growth and attainment of social goals. As the report states, "The individuals themselves would gain opportunities for satisfying and meaningful employment."

HIGH INTENSITY TRAINING

SAMUEL B. MARKS AND LESLIE KANUK

There exists in our Nation's economy an employment paradox which is becoming increasingly apparent. This phenomenon involves increases in the demand for a wide variety of skilled, semiskilled, and supervisory workers intertwined with a surplus of unskilled jobseekers. The greatest challenge confronting us in the seventies may depend upon our ability to provide the right kinds of jobs, and our willingness to provide the training which would adapt workers to handle those jobs adequately.

The tasks of matching workers with jobs can only be expected to become increasingly complex, because we are living in a highly dynamic, sophisticated, and constantly changing socio-economic era. So many new skills and jobs are coming into the job market that computerization techniques are even being applied to the U.S. Department of Labor's DICTIONARY OF OCCUPATIONAL TITLES. For example, some 6,000 new jobs were added to the DOT in recent years, and expectations are that 5,000 jobs which today are unknown will come into being during the next 4 or 5 years.

The reasons why employers are generally not training low skilled or unskilled workers to fill shortage category jobs are many and varied. Some employers claim they cannot afford to interrupt production to provide training, while others claim they do not have or know how to organize training programs. Then, too, there are the usual barriers to training, including language difficulties of minority groups and negative attitudes of employers to the abilities of low skilled workers.

Foresighted employers in the United States, on the other hand, have accepted training, retraining, and the upgrading of worker skills as the most satisfactory long-run techniques for adapting workers to trades. Today, in most trades a worker must first undergo intensive and intricate training.

Recently, a New York City nonprofit training and skill upgrading organization — Skill Advancement, Inc. (SAI)—developed and tested a new training concept. This new technique—"High Intensity Training"—was designed to enable employers to upgrade their low skilled workers to shortage category skills in a matter of hours.

Illustrative of how HIT can be made to work is the case of nine Negro and Puerto Rican dishwashers in a large New York City medical center. After only 40 hours of intensive training, these workers were upgraded to food preparation positions and given 10 percent salary increases. Perhaps even more important is the fact that the training and promotions instilled new motivations for these workers to seek still greater responsibility and advancement.

In September 1966, the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Manpower Policy, Evaulation, and Research (OMPER) recognized the effectiveness of HIT by granting

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Dishwashers and tray assemblers learn sandwich making in a high intensity training program in a major New York City hospital.

SAI a contract providing for the training of 1,500 low skilled workers. The OMPER-funded experimental and demonstration project has shown very adequately after a year's operation that HIT is a very practical solution to problems of employers with an imbalance in worker skills.

Those charged with the responsibility of systematically upgrading skills in industry realize that any solution to the problem must be able to balance itself on a tightrope strung between employers' shortages and workers' needs.

During the initial developmental phase, the low skilled worker must be dealt with pervasively with respect to his entire environment. Importantly considered are the worker's wages, work, home, community, and the various pressures under which he lives and which have an effect on his ability to reach his fullest potential.

Next, the environment of the worker is mirrored in those factors and facilities in the community upon which the worker's growth depends. These include such elements as the availability of skill training courses and basic education and their relevance to his needs; the reality of advancement opportunities; and the worker's motivation to pursue studies after working hours.

The ultimate solution to the problem of extricating workers from low or no skill employment ultimately would have to be based not only on the technical requirements of the employer but also on the economic, social, and psychological needs of the low or nonskilled worker. An account must be made of the underlying problems which tend to confine the unskilled worker to his low rung on the economic ladder. These include:

- *Functional Illiteracy*—economic, educational, and occupational failures.
- *On-the-Job-Prejudice* — especially against minority group workers.
- *Off-the-Job-Prejudice*—which affects choice of jobs, better housing, credit, and education.
- *Apathy and Indifference*—on the part of the worker, as a result of frustration, rejection, and exclusion.
- *Distrust of Management*—by worker who may be offered training.

- *Skepticism by Management*—as to the abilities of minority group workers.

The High Intensity Training program, as developed by SAI, was designed to counteract and overcome many of these barriers by including within the training package the following features:

—Programs are conducted within the plant setting among selected workers.

—Training agreements include provisions guaranteeing that trainees will be upgraded to better jobs, receive pay increases, and changes in job titles upon completion of training.

—Trainees receive pay while in training, or overtime pay if already employed.

—Training programs are of short duration in order to permit trainee to retain interest.

—Training is tailored to fit the needs of each individual employer.

—Programs are planned to take into account both the trainee's personal and work environments.

—Professional trainers often serve as a mediating influence in organizations where friction exists between low skilled workers and supervision and management.

—Curricula are designed to motivate the low skilled worker to goals beyond the job for which he is being trained.

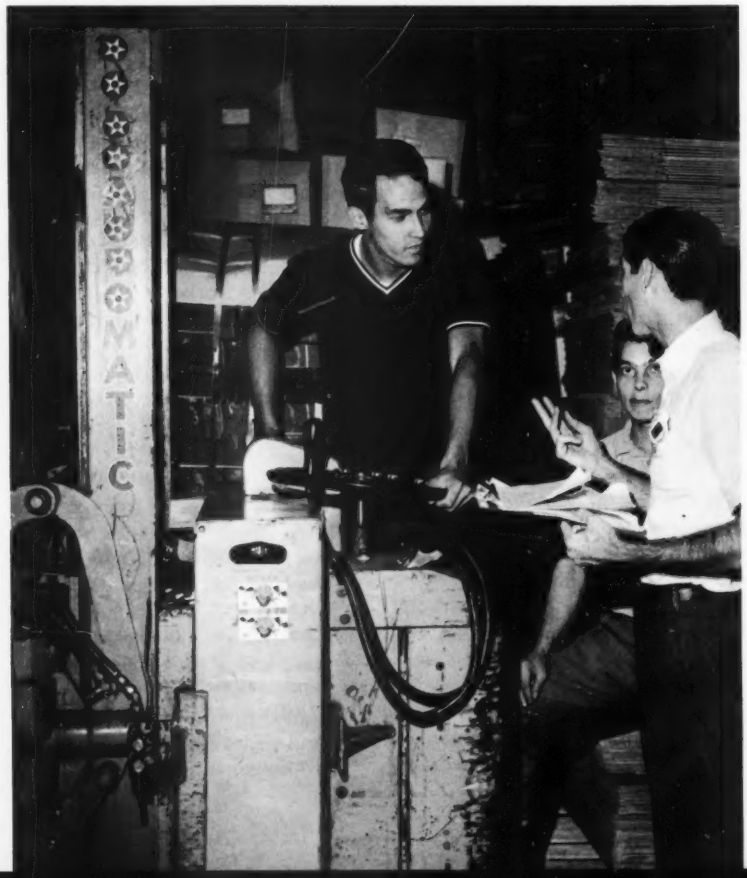
In the course of its investigations, SAI found that most training programs were based upon management's stated needs. Very often, it was determined also that management, innocently enough, had an unrealistic picture of many job functions and requirements. The utilization of an outside professionally qualified trainer, on the other hand, often provides a necessary objective appraisal of training needs and job specifications. In many cases, after a 2- or 3-week detailed job analysis, SAI has been able to make valuable recommendations to managements with respect to the restructuring of traditional job lines. Such changes often resulted in a more effective utilization of available manpower.

After the completion of 66 HIT programs, certain observations are available. These were derived from interviews, comments, and reports of trainees, supervisors, and employers. One overriding conclusion is that the program provides an effective method for quickly upgrading unskilled workers to more critical jobs within their own organizations. At the same time, the newly trained workers become endowed with a more constructive attitude toward their better jobs.

What has management observed as a result of HIT? Employers generally were of the opinion that those workers who completed the HIT program curriculum were more productive, took on more responsibility, and became more cooperative. In some instances, employers found an overall increase in plant productivity. Absenteeism, lateness, and worker turnover were also lower in plants where HIT took place.

Certainly, the economy of the United States is becoming more demanding with respect to skills. Buggy-whip type jobs are a thing of the past, and what may appear to be a shortage category job today may in time become obsolete. Who knows but that workers may have to be retrained for new jobs every decade or so? The time may come when even skilled workers will have to undergo retraining periodically. Thus, the short term HIT technique may also be useful not only for training the low and unskilled, but for workers generally.

Fork-lift operators training to be assistant foremen in a plastics factory through high intensity training.



INDUSTRY ADVISORY COMMITTEES

SAMUEL M. BURT

The Businessman asks: "But what can I do about poverty and jobs?"
The answer: "Get involved."

Businessmen in this country have a tailor-made vehicle to do something about developing jobs for the hard-core unemployed, thereby making a significant contribution to the fight on poverty. This vehicle is the local industry advisory committee. Such committees have been established by many administrators responsible for conducting and planning educational and training projects and programs connected with the war on poverty.

The impetus for establishing industry advisory committees undoubtedly stems from the experience of vocational and technical educators who, for over 50 years, have utilized industry advisory committees with considerable success in planning, conducting, and evaluating school programs designed to prepare youth and adults for the world of work. As a matter of fact, local school administrators are required by the U.S. Office of Education to develop and conduct their occupational programs in consultation with potential employers and other individuals or groups of individuals having skills in and substantive knowledge of the occupation or occupational field representing the occupational knowledge. Educators estimate that some 20,000 such industry education advisory committees have been established by public vocational and technical schools throughout the country.

Businessmen are becoming more involved in a team effort in providing creative solutions to our manpower problems. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce recently stated that American business is concerned with alleviating poverty because of hard economic facts as well as the social justice involved.

The three reasons most often expressed by business-

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men for becoming involved in the employment of disadvantaged, the undereducated, and underskilled are:

—In periods of labor shortages such people with some minimum job-readiness preparation are a good source of labor supply.

—Each such person who is employed in private enterprise or in the private sector reduces relief rolls and unemployment compensation costs by that much. In other words, steady employment ends dependence on welfare.

In addition, there are special factors which are relevant to war-on-poverty programs, such as the elimination of causes of race riots, the deterioration of the inner city and cost of maintaining needed public services, the loss of business due to racial economic boycotts, and public recognition as a champion of civil rights and equal employment opportunities.

Key to Success

Where educational and training programs have and are achieving their objective of preparing and placing youth and adults in industry and business, the involvement of the business community has been the key to the success of each program. While the techniques may have been different for each program and project, the sponsoring organization has found it necessary to devote considerable staff time, ingenuity, and resources to assure industry commitment. The time is long overdue for recognizing that committees can do little, if anything, without the help of supportive staff. The need for supportive staff was pointed out by J. Donn Aiken, Director of the Maryland State Employment Service, in a paper he presented at a United States Employment Service meeting in Cleveland the early part of November 1967.

Since it is doubtful that the various organizations now involved in conducting manpower educational and training programs and projects have either the expertise or sufficient staff to devote to the advisory committee function, a movement should be initiated by the various sponsoring organizations of war-on-poverty programs to, at the very least, reorganize and consolidate their advisory committees at the local as well as the State and national levels.

Up to now, corrective measures have been aimed at cooperation and coordination. The real need is for consolidation. Mr. Aiken, in his aforementioned paper, in which he lists six manpower advisory committees in the city of Baltimore, urged consolidation of these committees. Even minimal consolidation would not only help eliminate some of the fragmentation of industry efforts, but would also make possible the services of truly interested and knowledgeable industry advisory committee members and more effective industry involvement and participation in the manpower development programs of our communities and Nation.

As an immediate step in this direction, it is suggested that there be organized jointly funded regional meetings of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the U.S. Department of Labor, the U.S. Office of Education, and the Department of Commerce, with industry leaders present, to discuss greater and more effective involvement of industry and business.

Businessman Turned Poverty Fighter

One well publicized organization of businessmen to fight poverty and help get jobs for the hard-core unemployed is the Management Council for Merit Employment, Training, and Research located in the Los Angeles-Watts area. This group does not actually place, train, or recruit anyone—it just stays close to those who do. This council has greatly speeded the community's attack on chronic unemployment. To convince the hard-core unemployed that they had a real chance of landing jobs in the Watts area, the council persuaded dozens of the city's biggest employers to start sending recruiters to the poverty area within a few weeks after the riots.

The council keeps in close contact with the Employment Service office in the area, and keeps prodding employers to recruit in the ghetto. This is an example of what the businessman can accomplish when he gets himself involved. Other organizations of businessmen operating in much the same way are metropolitan job councils as found in Newark, Washington, D.C., Toledo, and other cities. However, these organizations are not so much "advisory" as they are "operational." The "industry advisory" practicum is discussed in the remainder of this article.

Programs Utilizing Industry Advisory Groups

Six programs are cited as examples of antipoverty measures which are utilizing local industry advisory committees. All these projects are concerned with job development and training of the hard-core unemployed and underemployed.

1. *Restoration of Youth Through Training, Rikers Island, New York City*

RYT was a research project designed to provide special vocational training as data-processing machine

operators for a sample of young men serving time in the New York City jail (Rikers Island). Jobfinding and placement, as well as other supportive services, were provided after release. The project began in 1963 and was completed in 1966 as a joint venture of the City College of New York and the New York City Department of Correction. Other community organizations involved in this project were the New York City Parole Commission, The Counseleers (a social organization of professional probation and parole officers), the New York City YMCA, and the New York Housing Authority. IBM donated the equipment used in the project, estimated at a value of $14,000.

One of the most important outcomes of RYT according to the report submitted to the Department of Labor's Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research, which funded the project, was the development of a Citizens Advisory Committee composed of local union and industry senior executives. Before the project began, a sufficient number of employers had indicated an interest so that it seemed feasible to start. The expectation was that it would not be too difficult to locate other employers as the project moved along. These early expectations were not realized, however. Almost immediately, RYT was frustrated in gaining access to needed work roles. Some of the organizations and businesses that had expressed interest were not at all interested when faced with real live ex-inmates. Many offered logical reasons why they couldn't keep their early promises: They were shifting from punch-card processing to electronic systems, they were moving their major installations, etc. Moreover, as other employers were contacted, it became increasingly clear that traditional economic concerns and hiring restrictions were not going to be modified greatly by humanitarian appeals.

It became obvious that unless a different kind of leverage was developed, most of the RYT trainees would not be placed in jobs where their training would be used directly. The establishment of a citizens advisory committee was decided upon as offering the best hope for success.

The development of the Citizens Advisory Committee was a time-consuming and at times a disheartening task for the staff involved. Many discouraging rejections were encountered. Finding the group was largely a trial-and-error process of trying to locate leaders who were willing to lend themselves to opening work roles for the special group represented by RYT. The leaders who volunteered to participate were a significant and rewarding group. They became the source for discovering and interesting others in membership on the committee.

The committee needed to buttress its membership with individuals who were identified with the general public good—in this case, representatives of public communications media who would be able to describe the nature and value of activities that were going on to a widespread audience. These new members formed the core of a subcommittee on public relations which undertook the task of shifting public attitudes toward the employment and social restoration of youthful offenders.

A series of editorials were written in the SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE by one of the members of the committee; newspaper articles were developed and distributed at critical points in the life of the project; and contacts were developed which led to an NBC–TV production of an hour-long, two-part documentary film entitled "The Road Back." This film has been borrowed by several groups in corrections and education and has been widely shown. Most recently, it has been shown at State teachers' conventions in seven different States.

At the outset, the advisory committee was a collection of individuals to whom one might turn as a source of moral support, encouragement, and influence. It quickly became clear that the members of the advisory committee wished to participate more directly in the program and to be involved in making decisions. The advisory committee saw itself as contributing not only influence but experience in the world of work. Further, each member had his own image of what the work community in New York ought to be and his own concept about what should be happening to achieve it.

What was needed most were jobs, and the members of the committee were effective channels for better jobs than could have been obtained without their activity and influence. It seems likely that they might have been more effective if the value orientations each individual was using in developing relationships and in opening opportunities could have been reviewed and sharpened by the group acting together.

One comment about staff and committee interaction was: The members of the RYT Citizens Advisory Committee were truly policy makers. RYT had reached for them because they were influential, with the belief that they would be able to provide access to jobs. But, for that purpose, they had reached too high. Advisory committee members were not people who participated in development activities. They opened doors, but frequently job development and eventually placement had to be developed independ-

ently. In future projects, the Citizens Advisory Committee is seen as participating with vocational educators to design up-to-date curricula and to stimulate methods of teaching which are relevant to current situations in the world of work. To be successful in training handicapped people for entrance into modern industry and business, an up-to-date and continuing dialogue must exist between those who train and those who control job entry. Otherwise training will not be current and useful.

Based on the RYT experience, it appears that training for young adults in jail might be divided advantageously into two phases. The first would be in-jail diagnostic study and preparation for entry-level jobs or work opportunities where on-the-job training would follow. The second phase would be built on the recognition that successful growth within the job will require further training, support, and guidance. This phase would aim at the gradual development of specific skills and new social perspectives, meshing both with an actual work situation. For such programing, an active group of union and business advisors would be absolutely necessary.

2. *Apprenticeship Information Centers Advisory Committees*

Because there was almost universal agreement that lack of knowledge of apprenticeship is one of the major reasons for the paucity of Negroes attempting to enter such programs, the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor established Apprenticeship Information Centers to serve as clearinghouses of information for the general public. The first such federally financed center was opened June 17, 1963. In 1967, there were 26 AIC's in operation, with 10 more planned for 1968. The main function of the AIC is to supply information and to act as a clearinghouse for recruitment, screening, and referral of individuals to apprentice programs. The centers have no power to compel apprenticeship sponsors to accept referrals.

Upon being established, the centers emphasized the development of cooperation with employers, unions, and minority groups, in order that these parties take action commensurate with the significant value of apprenticeship in relation to the national manpower situation.

In pursuance of this objective, the Department of Labor required each AIC to establish an inter-governmental Agency Coordinating Group (ACG) composed of government people, and an advisory committee. The AIC advisory committees were appointed by local civic authorities wherever possible and made up of representatives of management, labor, and minority and civic organizations. Members of the agency coordinating group attended the advisory committee meetings and acted as consultants from their respective organizations.

The advisory committee advised on the reactions of various community groups as to the activity of the center, on the opportunities and outlook for apprenticeship in the area, and on possible modifications or improvements in the conduct of the center.

According to a recently published study, (THE NEGRO AND APPRENTICESHIP, F. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., Johns Hopkins Press), much remains to be done in appointing AIC advisory committees which really represent the community groups they are intended to represent, and to appoint people who will take an active interest in the centers.

3. *Job Corps Center, Gary, Tex., Advisory Committee*

The Texas Educational Foundation operates, on a nonprofit basis, the Gary, Tex., Job Corps Center under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Foundation established a subsidiary organization, Opportunities, Inc., consisting of 14 of the largest companies in Texas and 100 smaller firms. Opportunities, Inc. at first had a formal subcontract with the foundation and subsequently became an adviser to the center. During the organizational period, a number of companies lent business managers and were reimbursed only for their salary cost.

Much of the success of the Gary Center is the result of the relationships developed between the businessmen of Opportunities, Inc. and the center staff. The businessmen appear to take their advisory role seriously, particularly in two crucial areas of center operation: Job training and placement. Opportunities, Inc. established a board of visitors consisting of the top vocational training men in each of the member companies. The board visits the center at least every 3 months, and an effort is made to insure that the companies represented on it have had experience themselves with the particular skill training the center is already engaging in. The suggestions of the board about ways to improve the training are adopted by the center staff. Also, the board is invited by the staff to help deal with specific problems. This kind of broad business impact on the content of center training activity is obviously very valuable and difficult to match with a single industrial contractor or even with one or two businesses.

The second impressive feature of the Gary expe-

rience, its high placement record, is also attributable to its business component and not necessarily to the fact of its nonprofit structure. Each of the companies in Opportunities, Inc. is committed to hiring enrollees who complete segments of training. The placement rate is 84 percent, one of the highest for the urban centers.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is planning to institute similar business visitor teams or advisory committees in three or four other centers.

4. *Opportunities Industrialization Centers' Advisory Committees*

The OIC movement started in Philadelphia in 1964 and has now spread to some 30 cities throughout the United States. It is basically a self-help training program organized and conducted by Negro leaders in their communities. Local businessmen provide supplementary money, equipment, and expendable supplies.

The basic program of an OIC includes a "feeder" program which offers literacy training, counseling, motivation, and health and welfare agency service referral. The second phase of the program consists of vocational training in an OIC organized school. These schools are licensed as private trade schools and offer a variety of training courses. For each course, there is a functioning industry advisory committee which, even prior to the opening of the school, had determined the need for the training program for the particular industry, assured that industry's support in hiring OIC graduates, and pledged financial support and donations of equipment, supplies, and instructional materials, including development of the curriculum.

The industry advisory committees provide continuous "feedback" to the program—review curriculum, advise teachers, and indicate what equipment and levels of training are necessary. Representatives of management, technicians, and job developers serve on these committees, which range in size from 5 to 10 persons.

Training is probably strongest in those courses geared to specific companies and industries with a continuing and growing need for trained manpower. These industries are also the most likely to provide strong industrial advisory committees, to donate modern equipment, and to help provide experienced teachers.

One of the major factors in the success of an OIC operation has been the support and involvement of industry and business as developed by the OIC in organizing and utilizing the industry advisory committees, according to Arnold Nemore in his report, "Transferability of Manpower Programs," to the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, August 1967.

5. *Community Action Agency and Concentrated Employment Program Advisory Committees*

While the Office of Economic Opportunity has not furnished the number of business members on the boards of the more than 1,100 existing CAA's, some business representation appears to be present in a majority of cases. If there is an industry committee advisory to the CAA, it is mobilized by CEP administrators to assist in the CEP program. If the CAA does not have an advisory committee, the CEP forms one.

In his report, "Private Enterprise Participation in the Anti-Poverty Program," to the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, August 1967, Stephen Kurzman, called the businessman's involvement in the CAA programs a "surface participation." The CAA's in most of the cities are so nonprofit oriented, with such relatively stronger representation of ministers, social workers, and other nonbusiness types, that they have little rapport with the business community. Such CAA's have had to be prodded even to invite key industrial leaders to serve on their policymaking councils. They have had to be convinced that the businessmen deserve a responsible role in the policymaking process, much as local officials have had to be prodded to give the poor a similar role in the process. Neither can be given only the role of a functionary.

In a city where businessmen are not a particularly cohesive establishment, an attempt to establish a training program under CEP was badly misdirected in the eyes of the businessmen who were contacted. Two training centers already existed in the community. Some of the businessmen had created a tripartite business-labor-civil rights committee which was seeking additional funds for the two centers. When the CEP was proposed, the two existing centers were ignored and a third center was to be funded to train 2,500 workers in 4 weeks for $4.5 million. The local committee felt strongly that this was unrealistic because there would be no jobs for the 2,500 once they were trained. With considerable and unusually rigorous participation for that city by the businessmen committee members, the CEP has since reportedly been modified to shift the funds into the existing centers and into longer-term programs.

In cities where the CAA's are not generally well attuned to the local business community, despite wide-

spread businessman representation on boards, they may not be particularly effective as a route to the private sector in the Labor Department's Concentrated Employment Program.

6. *Manpower Development and Training Act Local Advisory Committees*

Under the MDTA of 1962, a National Manpower Advisory Committee was established and instructed to encourage and assist in the reorganization of community, State, and regional committees designed to further the purposes of the act. The 1963 amendments to the act gave the Secretary of Labor responsibility for these committees.

Local manpower advisory committees consist of 5 to 10 members who are chosen for their presumed and demonstrated vital interest in the economic welfare of a community and its citizens, and who are familiar with the areas of employment opportunities and the manpower problems. Local committees are expected to have the active participation of representatives of labor, management, minority groups, and the public. The primary role of the local MAC is to examine and review proposals for MDTA training, help in assessing present and future economic needs and manpower problems in the areas, and obtain cooperation from employers to hire trainees. The MAC is also expected to publicize local training programs and plans. The local MAC is not supposed to recommend consideration of specific training programs, nor act in any way but as advisory to the local Employment Service staff concerning MDTA programs and projects. There are approximately 1,400 local MAC's in existence.

The functions of local MDTA advisory committees are, in many respects, the same as those for school advisory committees. However, there is rarely any relationship—formal or informal—between the two committee groups. On occasion, some members of the school committees serve on the MDTA committees. To this extent, there was some exchange of information. Also, vocational educators were usually invited to attend meetings of the MDTA advisory committees. In the opinion of most vocational educators, the MDTA advisory committees unfortunately are not very effective. They are dependent almost completely for information on local Employment Service staff; they lack knowledge concerning the variety of educational and training programs conducted by various other community organizations such as the schools, the OIC's, industry, and the unions; they meet infrequently; they have inadequate representation of community interests; they appear dominated by union representatives; their membership is inappropriate; and their members lack a clear-cut understanding of their function and scope of responsibility.

A recent study of MDTA advisory committees conducted by the Department of Labor's Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research tends to support a number of these criticisms. A special committee has been appointed by the Bureau of Employment Security of the Department of Labor to strengthen the MDTA advisory committees and make them a usable part of a total community education, training, and war-on-poverty effort.

USES and the Cities

(*Continued from page 7*)

the Bureau of Employment Security's national office into more logical and meaningful units directly related to our basic concerns: human resources development, employability development, job development and placement, and management control and evaluation. I hope that the States will look at what we're doing and will try to bring some of their own thinking into line with what we are trying to do. If we go on proliferating vertical-categorical programs from the national level which are set up to compete with one another for the same end results, what we will have achieved is organized chaos. There is a place in our system for expertise in functional categorical areas, but these efforts must be directed to end products which serve best the needs of our clientele, not end products which build special categorical empires within our system.

If we move in this direction, we may find we have more resources to work with than we thought we had before.

Finally, we are trying to build and introduce throughout the Federal-State employment service system a sense of urgency about our mission which is, as we see it, to fully develop and utilize the human resources of our Nation. To accomplish this we need not only to interpret and to train our people to accept new concepts, we need also to plan, organize, manage and evaluate our efforts more effectively. We are therefore working hard to develop a Federal-State system of management by objectives, which builds from the bottom up a plan of service, budgeting, management information and evaluation system. This will not be done over night, but it has been started and with the understanding cooperation and support of the *whole* Federal-State organization we can and will build the best darn manpower system in the world. That mission is not completed—it has only begun!

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